

Message Text

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TAGS:OTRA, OVIP, NO, PFOR

SUBJECT: MBFR BRIEFING PAPER FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY INGERSOLL
AND EUR DEP ASST SEC LOWENSTEIN

1. BACKGROUND: THE ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS ENDING ON JULY 17
WAS LARGELY UNEVENTFUL WITH NATO INCREASINGLY ON THE DE-
FENSIVE AS THE EAST REITERATED COSMETIC VARIANTS OF ITS
ORIGINAL POSITION AND INTENSIFIED ITS DEMANDS FOR THE INCLU-
SION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES. ADDITIONALLY, THE WARSAW
PACT INCREASED ITS EMPHASIS ON SECURING ARMAMENTS LIMITA-
TIONS AND CONTINUED TO REJECT EXCHANGE OF FORCE DATA (WHICH
PROBABLY WOULD STRENGTHEN THE WESTERN CASE FOR
ASYMMETRIC REDUCTIONS).

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AFTER ALMOST TWENTY-ONE MONTHS OF NEGOTIATIONS, WE CONCLUDED
THAT THE WESTERN POSITION CLEARLY REQUIRED RECONSIDERATION
IF NATO WAS TO ACHIEVE ITS PHASE I OBJECTIVES -- WITHDRAWAL
OF A SOVIET TANK ARMY INCLUDING 68,000 MEN AND 1700 TANKS

AND EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF THE COMMON CEILING. THE US ACCORDINGLY PROPOSED TO ITS ALLIES THAT NUCLEAR ELEMENTS BE ADDED TO THE ALLIANCE POSITION (THE SO-CALLED OPTION III ELEMENTS CONSISTING OF 1000 NUCLEAR WARHEADS, 54 F-4 NUCLEAR CAPABLE AIRCRAFT, AND 36 PERSHING SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE LAUNCHERS).

EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS ON OPTION III ARE CONTINUING IN NATO. THERE APPEARS TO BE A GENERAL ALLIANCE CONSENSUS TO PROCEED WITH THE OFFER BUT SEVERAL DIFFICULT ISSUES REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED BEFORE FINAL APPROVAL TO TABLE OPTION III CAN BE OBTAINED. THESE INCLUDE INTER ALIA SUCH QUESTIONS AS (1) HOW DEFINITIVE A COMMITMENT TO THE COMMON CEILING SHOULD THE ALLIES DEMAND FROM THE WP IN RETURN FOR OPTION III? (2) WHAT TYPE OF RESTRAINTS SHOULD BE IMPOSED ON SOVIET NUCLEAR ELEMENTS ANALOGOUS TO THOSE TO BE REDUCED BY THE US? (3) HOW DO WE BEST FEND OFF EASTERN DEMANDS FOR LIMITS ON ALLIED NUCLEAR SYSTEMS? (4) SHOULD WE OFFER TO INCLUDE AIR MANPOWER IN CONJUNCTION WITH OPTION III? WHILE A GREAT DEAL OF WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE, WE REMAIN CONFIDENT THAT ALLIED APPROVAL TO PROCEED WITH THE OFFER WILL BE SECURED IN TIME TO PRESENT IT RELATIVELY EARLY DURING THE UPCOMING ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS BEGINNING SEPTEMBER 22.

WITH THE CONCLUSION OF CSCE, MBFR HAS ASSUMED A SUBSTANTIALLY MORE PROMINENT PLACE ON THE EAST-WEST AGENDA. IF NATO PROCEEDS WITH OPTION III, WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE JUXTAPOSITION OF THIS MORE PROMISING ENVIRONMENT WITH A MAJOR WESTERN INITIATIVE WILL MOVE THE LONG-STALLED TALKS TOWARD A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME.

NORWEGIAN OFFICIALS WILL PROBABLY BE INTERESTED IN FURTHER US ASSESSMENT OF MBFR PROSPECTS AND THE MANNER IN WHICH WE INTEND TO DEVELOP THE NUCLEAR OPTION. AS AN INDIRECT PARTICIPANT IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS, NORWAY'S PRINCIPAL INTEREST UP TO NOW HAS BEEN FLANK SECURITY, AND OSLO DESIRES TO ASSURE THAT ANY MBFR AGREEMENT INVOLV-
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ING SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE WILL NOT PROVE DETERIMENTAL TO ITS SECURITY. THE NORWEGIANS, HOWEVER, HAVE BEEN MORE RELAXED OVER THE ISSUE THAN THE ITALIANS AND TURKS.

2. TALKING POINTS:

-- ALTHOUGH PROGRESS IN MBFR HAS BEEN SLOW, YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE SUCCESS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

-- SOVIET PROPOSALS AT VIENNA DURING THE PAST TWO ROUNDS ARE SIMPLY VARIANTS OF THE ORIGINAL UNACCEPTABLE WARSAW

PACT POSITION. THEY DO NOT ADDRESS THE CENTRAL WESTERN GOAL OF OBTAINING ASYMMETRIC GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS DESIGNED TO CREATE A COMMON CEILING OF FORCES ON BOTH SIDES. INSTEAD SUCH PROPOSALS WOULD TEND TO FREEZE THE EXISTING INBALANCE OF NATO AND PACT FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS.

-- OUR PROPOSAL TO THE ALLIANCE THAT SOME NUCLEAR ELEMENTS BE ADDED TO THE WESTERN POSITION DURING THE FALL ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS IS AN EFFORT TO BREAK THE EXISTING STALEMATE IN VIENNA AND ACHIEVE A SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT.

-- WE ARE GRATIFIED WITH THE PROGRESS MADE IN ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS IN BRUSSELS ON OUR PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE US NUCLEAR ELEMENTS IN THE ALLIANCE NEGOTIATING PACKAGE AND APPRECIATE NORWAY'S SUPPORT IN THE EFFORT.

-- IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT THE POINTS STILL AT ISSUE CAN BE RESOLVED SATISFACTORILY, AND WE HOPE THIS CAN BE DONE PROMPTLY SO THAT ALLIANCE NEGOTIATORS WILL BE IN A POSITION TO TABLE A NUCLEAR PROPOSAL IN VIENNA DURING THE FALL ROUND.

-- SUCH AN INITIATIVE IN VIENNA WILL STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE'S HAND IN PRESSING FOR RESULTS IN MBFR AS A LOGICAL COMPLEMENT TO CSCE.

-- OUR OBJECTIVE IN MBFR REMAINS TO REDUCE FORCES IN A WAY WHICH WILL ENSURE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY. I CAN ASSURE YOU
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THAT WE WILL DO NOTHING IN MBFR THAT WOULD WEAKEN THE ALLIANCE DEFENSE POSITION.

-- (IF ASKED ABOUT FLANK SECURITY) NORWAY HAS JUSTIFIABLE CONCERNS RELATING TO FLANK SECURITY. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT AN AGREEMENT CAN BE NEGOTIATED WHICH DOES NOT UNDERMINE THE SECURITY OF THE FLANK STATES.

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